

THE RESTORATION OF HISTORICAL FREDERICKSBURG

by *Maria Herrmann*

HISTORICAL SETTING

The German-founded town of Fredericksburg, Gillespie County, Texas, is today a city of 5326 people. It was founded in 1846 by a group of German immigrants under the auspices of the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas (usually called the *Adelsverein*, 'Society of Nobles,' after its founders).¹ Because of the disarray of the Society's finances, Baron Ottfried Hans von Meusebach was appointed in February 1845 to succeed Prince Karl von Solms-Braunfels as administrator in the Texas colony. When Meusebach reached the young settlement of New Braunfels, he was greeted with the appalling news not only that the colony was deeply in debt, but that several thousand new immigrants were due to arrive almost at once, expecting to find transportation and land for settlement at the unrealistically low prices estimated from earlier reports. Meusebach quickly purchased 10,000 acres of "headrights" (the right to homestead) on credit, eighty miles northwest of New Braunfels, but he calculated that the Society needed over \$140,000 to pay off its debts and provide for 4300 new colonists for three months. He had received only \$24,000 from Germany.

The new immigrants spent the rainy winter of 1845-46 in temporary shelter (some in hand-dug holes) and complete misery in Indianola and Galveston. Approximately eighty of the young men departed to join the United States Army in its war with Mexico. Deprived of transport because the war had absorbed all available vehicles, 321 of those left on the coast died of disease and exposure. When at last the survivors reached New Braunfels, epidemics of malaria and other disease accompanied them, and an additional five hundred died.

The *Adelsverein*'s proposed second colony, named by Meusebach Friedrichsburg after Society member Prince Friedrich of Prussia, had rich soil and plenty of water. Town Creek and Baron's Creek run through the heavily-

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wooded land ("*Urwald . . . Wald und nichts wie Wald*," p. 63) near the Pedernales River. On May 8, 1846, about a hundred and twenty men, women, and children arrived to build the new settlement. Their journey from New Braunfels took them sixteen days in wagons and oxcarts, because the road was muddy ("*sumpfig*," p. 61) and in places covered by water. Dams had to be built to divert streams from the path. The Society provided eight "soldiers" as guards, since the new land was in the midst of Indian territory, but the first train of settlers arrived unmolested.

A second group of settlers followed in June, and by 1848 the community numbered more than six hundred. The *Adelsverein* laid out the property at the beginning into "town lots" and farm land, giving each family ten acres and a lot. This property was compensation for the promised homesteads in the far-off Fisher-Miller Grant, which earlier had been fraudulently sold to the *Adelsverein*.²

The newly-arrived colonists quickly built *Mexikaner-Hütten*, "Mexican huts," with grass roofs, and a log storehouse covered with tent cloth, to house themselves and their provisions. After the allocation of the town lots, some families began construction of more permanent one-room log houses, which could later be expanded (in some cases larger homes were built later, and the original cabins were turned into smokehouses). Despite epidemics of cholera and diphtheria in the summer of 1846, cultivation and fencing was begun and a busy trade with the local Indians (mostly Shawnee and Delaware) developed.³

After an abortive expedition in 1846 to the Fisher-Miller Grant, led by the nefarious Dr. Schubert,⁴ which only reached the border of Comanche territory, John Meusebach (as the baron anglicized his name) decided to go himself to the "promised land" in January 1847. He surveyed the grant, concluded a historic peace treaty with the Comanche chiefs despite the dire warnings of the Anglos,⁵ and returned safely to Fredericksburg amid the rejoicing of the Germans, who were gathered in town for their usual Sunday activities.

The friendly relations established with the Indians stood the Germans in good stead later. In the difficult winter of 1847-48 many of the settlers died of scurvy and epidemic diseases, and many family heads left temporarily to earn money elsewhere. During this time the Comanches supplied the families with game, honey, and other needs for trifling compensation ("*gegen geringe Entschädigung*," p. 74). The many dead of the first two years are buried in unmarked graves in the *Stadtfriedhof*, the old city cemetery. Reminiscences of the early settlers in later years almost all include mention of the daily rounds of the death cart, and the heavy mortality rate from disease. Many names from the earliest records never appear again, marking the extinction of whole families.

In 1848 the United States government established Fort Martin Scott two miles southeast of Fredericksburg, as protection against hostile Indians. Men

from Fredericksburg found work building the fort, and later supplying it with their agricultural produce, wood, and crafts. At about the same time (perhaps 1847), a group of approximately two hundred Mormon farmers settled nearby, on the Pedernales. They built a water-powered sawmill and a grist mill patronized by the Germans, traded with them, and taught them the crops and farming methods best suited to the area. The Mormons moved on to Utah in 1853. By 1849 the Fredericksburg merchants' trade increased considerably, as travelers from the east in the Gold Rush made their last stop in civilization before reaching California. The pioneers to California brought with them cholera, and many more townspeople died in the epidemic of 1849.

People of many talents and social classes formed the early Fredericksburg settlement. The *Adelsverein* took pains to include skilled craftsmen, builders, tradesmen, and professional men in the groups sent to America, though of course the largest number were farmers. The Germans were known to their contemporaries, and naturally to their descendants, as people of perseverance, industry, thrift, and integrity. After the early years of suffering and disease, the colonists prospered. More land in the outlying areas was brought under cultivation, and the town thrived as a center of trade and as county seat of Gillespie County (formed in 1848 from part of Bexar County).

Fredericksburg was affected less than most of the South by the War Between the States. Although many of the Germans preferred neutrality and a number voted for secession, their Anglo neighbors believed they were all Union sympathizers because most opposed slavery (the Germans in Texas owned few slaves, partly from conviction and partly from economic necessity, although the Society's plantation at Nassau owned several slaves). Some of the local militia were killed in the Nueces Massacre (see paper by Francis Abernethy in this volume, pp. 87-88), although some residents formed a Confederate company, and the town was occupied by a company of Confederate soldiers until the end of the war. There were a few bitterly remembered incidents of burning and terrorizing by Southern sympathizers, but these were often felt to be personal feuds rendered violent by the inflamed emotions of the anarchic times.

The later years of the nineteenth century, and the twentieth, were relatively uneventful for Fredericksburg. The farms flourished, the town gradually grew, and new pioneers pushed the frontier farther west. Townspeople are proud to claim Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz as a native and descendant of one of the founders. Lyndon Johnson grew up in Gillespie County and spent much time among the people of Fredericksburg.

Today there is a constant influx from "outside." The inviting climate and peaceful scenery attract many retired people and artists to settle in the Texas Hill Country. A renewed interest in preserving the culture of the founders has led to restoration of a number of old buildings, as well as to preservation of typical German culinary arts in the bakeries and restaurants.

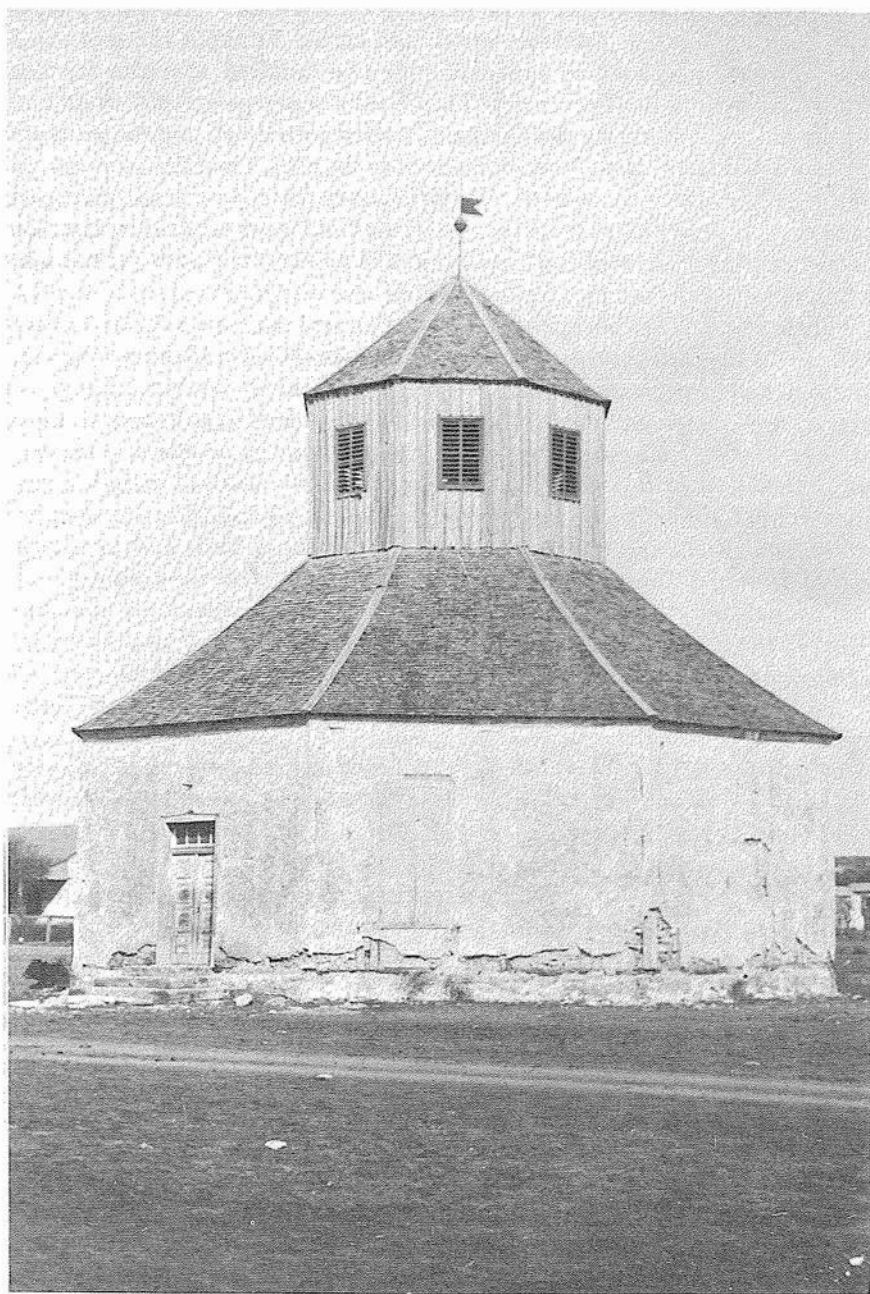


FIG. 1. *VEREINSKIRCHE*. ABOUT 1896. Photo from historical files of Kilman Studio, Fredericksburg, Texas.

Although many of the nineteenth-century buildings in Fredericksburg remain in varying states of disrepair, several have been painstakingly restored to their original appearance, while being adapted internally for modern use. Some are periodically opened for tours; some are private homes; some are now public buildings or museums. I will describe seven of the more successful restorations or preservations for this article. The eighth building discussed, the *Vereinskirche*, deteriorated to such an extent that it could not be salvaged, but a replica of it was built in 1934, on a new site, and now houses the Fredericksburg Chamber of Commerce.

VEREINSKIRCHE

The first major public building to be constructed in Fredericksburg, in 1847, was the octagonal *Vereinskirche*, "Society church." It was originally sited in the center of Main Street, as befitted a building that served as the focus of communal life for the pioneers.

Dr. Schubert is said to be the architect for *die Kaffeemühle*, "the coffee mill." It was a wood-frame structure, originally made of hand-hewn planks and beams, with a sand floor. Each side of the octagon was approximately eighteen feet, with walls eighteen feet high. There were two doors, one for men and one for women, and shuttered windows on the other six sides. In the center, resting on four strong pillars, a ten-foot-wide cupola extended a further ten feet above the roof, which at that point was ten feet higher than at eave level. In later years, the walls were lined with plastered masonry, a stone floor was laid, and a ceiling was installed below the open rafters. A fifth support pillar was added in the 1880s, when a large bell replaced the original small one. The fifth pillar and second door (remodeled into a window at some point) were omitted from the replica.

The settlers considered the church to be common property (though the *Verein* transferred title to only one congregation when the Society was dissolved). It was used for worship by all denominations, and as a meeting place, school, and even fortress at various times. By 1848 the Catholics of Fredericksburg had withdrawn to their own building for church services, and they were followed by the Methodists and the Lutherans. For many years the building was used by the Evangelical Protestant Holy Ghost Church, until it fell into disuse about 1887 because of a dispute between two factions of the church. Though it was used as a pavilion for the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of Fredericksburg in 1896, the old *Vereinskirche* thereafter faded out of existence. When it became evident that the old building had deteriorated beyond salvage in 1897, it was dismantled. The Fredericksburg Chamber of Commerce is now housed in a faithful replica of the *Vereinskirche*, but unfortunately it no longer stands in its commanding position as the visual center of the town.⁶

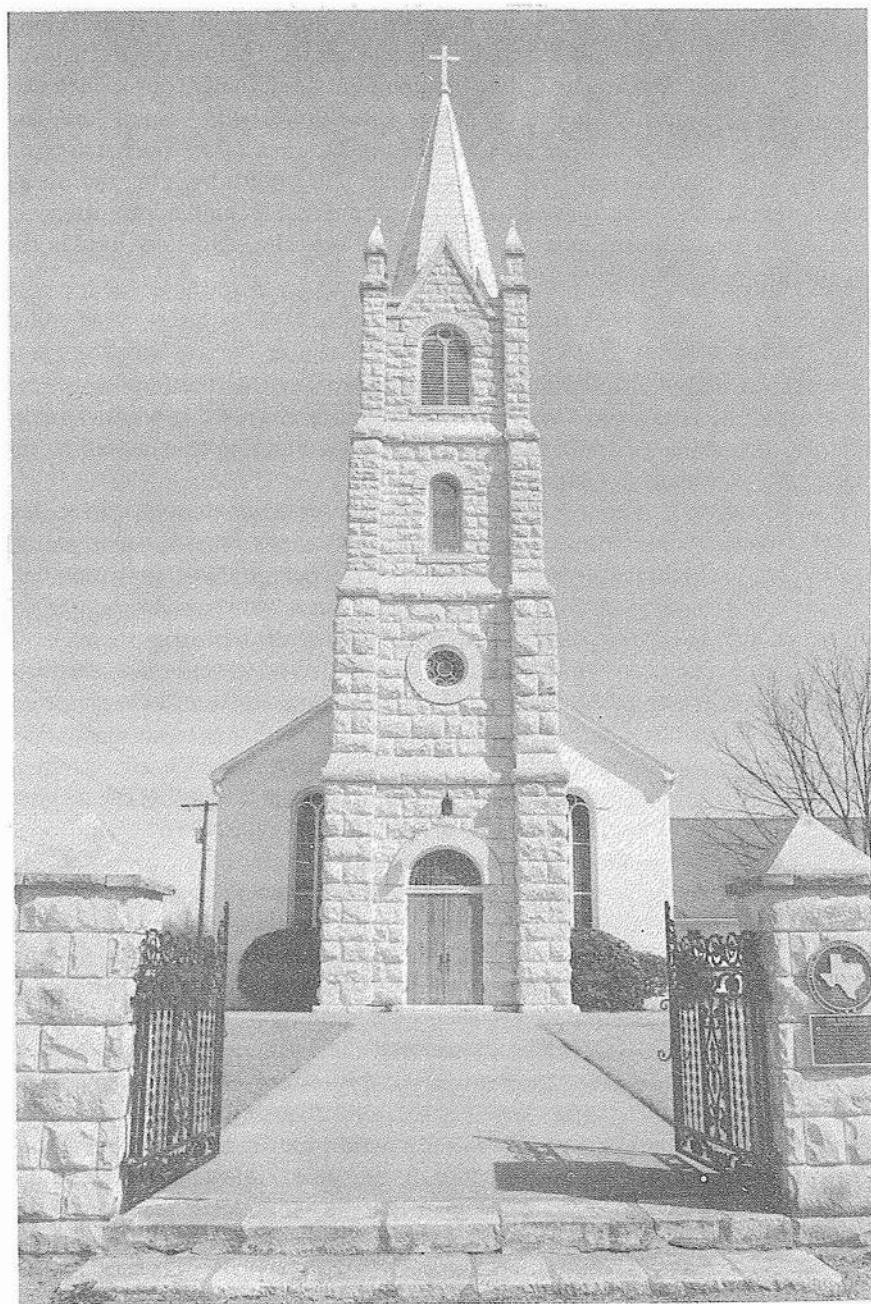


FIG. 2. ZION EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH. Photo by Maria Herrmann.

ZION EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

After worshipping for several years in the non-denominational *Vereinskirche*, six families of Lutherans invited a Swiss pastor, P. F. Zizelman, to become the first Lutheran missionary to Fredericksburg. A doctrinal schism soon developed between this group and the Evangelical Protestants led by Pastor Dangers, and the Zion congregation withdrew to a small blockhouse for worship. In 1853 the growing congregation decided to build a larger, stone church, and in March 1854 the cornerstone was laid. The original plastered limestone building was a rectangle thirty-six by fifty feet by eighteen feet high, with a small square cupola near one end of the pitched roof.

Every member of the congregation contributed construction materials or labor to the church. Building stone was quarried, lime prepared by burning, sand hauled from the river, and lumber brought in ox-drawn wagons. With the dedicated labor of the church members (tallied in detail in an early church record), the building was completed in less than a year.

In 1884 the walls and windows were raised two feet, and the frame tower was raised ten feet. At the same time the interior was given a ceiling and a balcony was added. In 1908 transepts were built to give the present cruciform plan with five-faceted apse, and an eighty-five foot limestone tower was constructed in front of the church.⁷ The Romanesque-arched windows of the apse match those of the nave. Since the church has been in constant use, it has been maintained in good condition, its present modern interior having been renovated in 1960. It is a vivid reminder of the permanence and solidity of German construction, and of the pioneers' hopes for the future.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH (*MARIENKIRCHE*)

Old St. Mary's Church, which is currently being restored, was begun by the Catholics of Fredericksburg in February 1861, replacing their wooden structure built in 1848.⁸ Bishop Dubois of Galveston dedicated it to the protection of Mary, the Immaculate Conception, in November 1863.

The Catholics among the original immigrants had no regular priest for some years, but shared the ministry of traveling priests with other scattered settlements. By the time the German immigrants arrived, many of the early Spanish Catholic missions had been abandoned. In 1859 the Benedictine abbot of San Vincent in Pennsylvania was prevailed upon to send several German-speaking priests and lay brothers to minister to the German Catholics in Texas, and Father Theodor Grundner, O.S.B., came to Fredericksburg as parish priest. He encouraged plans for a new, permanent church, but left soon after the *Marienkirche* was begun. His successor, Father Peter Baunach, O.S.B., is credited with managing the construction of the imposing limestone building. After two and a half years of labor the ambitious project was complete. The church has a cruciform plan with a semi-circular apse and a



FIG. 3. ST. MARY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH (*MARIENKIRCHE*). Photo by Maria Herrmann.

rock-roofed bell tower in the shape of a bishop's miter. Tradition holds that the tower roof was built over a form of damp sand. When the keystone was laid, the supporting plank floor was knocked loose and the sand ran out, leaving the roof self-supporting. The tower roof is plastered, giving an effect much like old Spanish mission churches.

The old church served as a place of worship until 1905, when a new larger church was built at its side. In 1906 old St. Mary's was divided horizontally to give two stories, and classroom partitions changed the old building into a parochial school for the Fredericksburg area; in 1915 further remodeling expanded classroom space for the increasing enrollment. It was in 1915 that the Gothic arched windows were squared off for better light and ventilation upstairs, and two outside stairways were added for safety.

In 1924 the school was moved from the old church. Since then the building has served various purposes, including housing the church janitor and his family. Gradually it fell into disrepair. In 1973 a new roof, the most pressing repair needed, was installed. In 1977 the second floor was removed and the plaster taken off the interior walls. The Gothic-arched stonework of one window was restored, and its stained glass is scheduled for replacement. The other eleven windows and two bricked-up doors in the apse will be restored as funds can be raised. A new ceiling was put in place in June 1977, its pleasing curves duplicating those of the old nineteenth-century ceiling, and decorated with six-pointed stars of molding. Research is under way to determine the size of the original choir loft (balcony) and the exact location of its staircase; much of the original hand-turned woodwork remains.

KRAUSKOPF BUILDING

Some of Fredericksburg's charming old commercial buildings stand vacant, but many are now being converted into shops, restaurants, and businesses of various kinds. A fine example is the rustic Krauskopf Building, which today houses Oma Kooch's Restaurant and Biergarten, owned and operated by William Faulk ("Guich") Kooch. The unusual and beautiful limestone and timber building is located across Main Street from the Gillespie County Museum.

Engelbert Krauskopf (1820-1881) came from Coblenz to Fredericksburg with the first settlers led by Meusebach. He was a trained cabinetmaker and gunsmith, who invented a machine for making the only ammunition available in the area during the Civil War blockade.⁹ After operating a sawmill, cotton gin, and cabinet shop, Krauskopf built a gunshop in 1856. He added hardware lines to the business after the Civil War, and the present building was constructed next door in 1900 by Engelbert's eldest son, Oscar. In this commercial building, four generations owned and operated the firm known as Krauskopf Brothers. The original gunshop was torn down in 1961 to make way for a savings and loan association.



In 1975 the family sold the property to Guich Koock. Since the sturdy building had great charm and possibilities for renovation, Mr. Koock capitalized on these attributes by transforming it into a German restaurant. The porches at side and back, and extra storage space, were added in 1975, and the kitchen and stage area were remodeled from existing space. A large limestone fireplace built in the style of early Texas-German ones was added to the spacious, open-raftered dining room. Cedar porch posts and beams were salvaged from other old buildings in central Texas. The Koocks have furnished the restaurant with local paintings, furniture, and wild game trophies, giving a cheerful and inviting turn-of-the-century Hill Country atmosphere.¹⁰

THE KRIEGER-GEYER HOUSE

A number of the early immigrants' homes are still to be seen in Fredericksburg, ranging in size from one-room cabins to spacious and comfortable dwellings, but all show that the Germans built for permanence.

Adam Krieger, one of the first settlers to arrive in Fredericksburg, built an elaborate pioneer house. It is built on two lots, originally granted to Adam and Eva Krieger and to bachelor Georg Geyer, and may originally have been jointly owned. Geyer disappears from recorded history after the lot allocations, and he may have been one of the early victims of the frequent epidemics. The house was authentically restored in 1968 by the late Rodolph Smith and his wife Roberta.

The oldest part of the home is the present front room, which is of *Fachwerk* (half-timbered) construction—upright and crosswise timbers forming the structural frame, with the spaces in between filled with rocks, twigs, grapevine, grass, and mortar. During restoration, the old notched and pegged timbers, which had sometimes later been covered by mortar or paint, were again exposed as they were in the original *Fachwerk* construction. Restoration brought to light that the timbers had been marked with Roman numerals during the building of the house to indicate the position in which they were to be placed on the foundations. All the preparation of materials was done either at the quarry or on the river bank; the pieces were then taken by oxcart to the construction site and assembled.

The front room has the original floor joists exposed. Originally the floor was probably beaten earth between the joists; in restoration, rocks like those of the hearth fill the spaces to produce a smooth and finished flooring. Removal of plaster from the rock fireplace showed the type of construction used between the timber framing. The rest of the interior masonry is white-

FIG. 4 (opposite). KRAUSKOPF BUILDING (NOW OMA KOOCK'S RESTAURANT). Photo by Maria Herrmann.

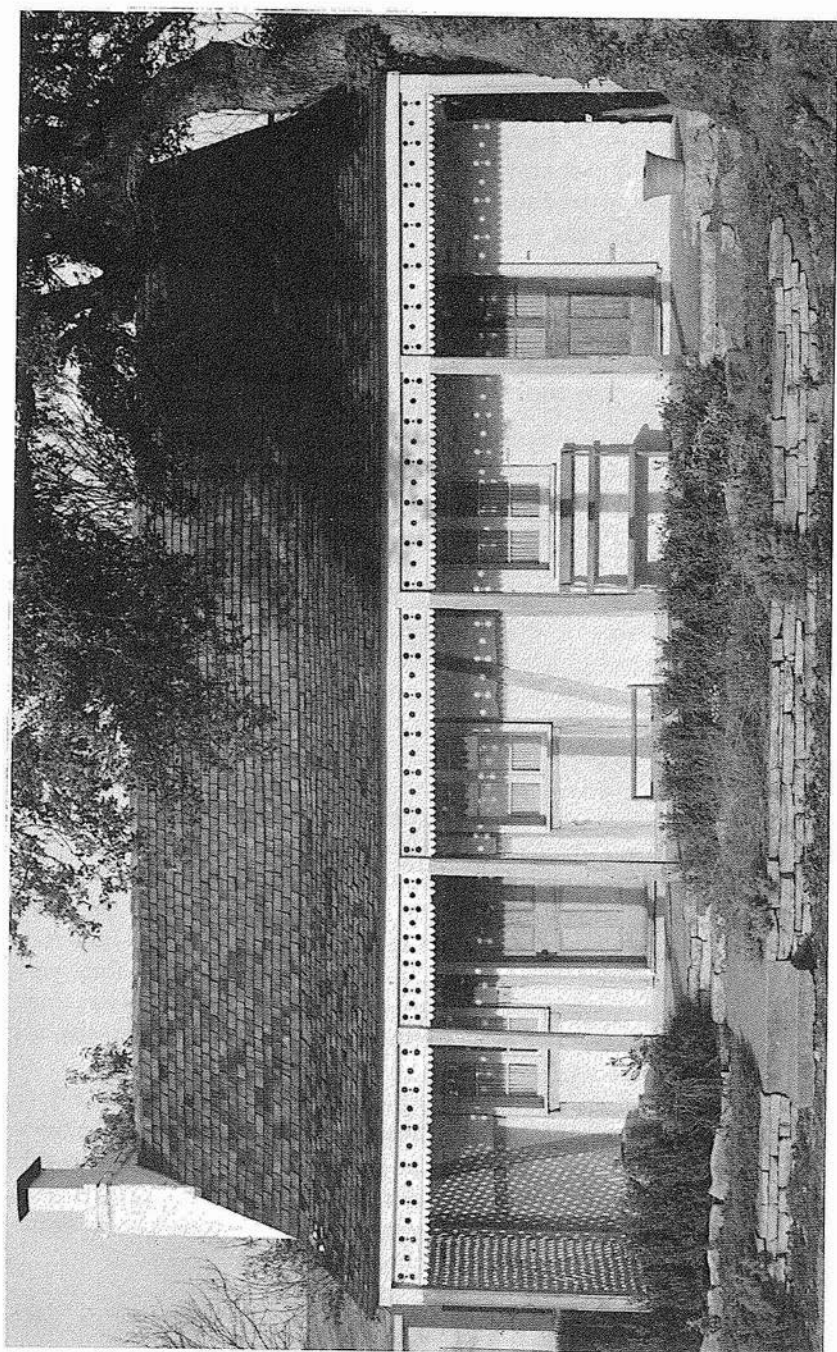


FIG. 5. KRIEGER-GEYER HOUSE. Photo by Maria Herrmann.

washed, as is the outside of the house. The old glass panes and the hardware of the casement windows are original. The front door was stripped of twelve coats of paint to its original natural pine wood effect.

A second room, also of stone, beside the first was added in the second phase of construction, with a window and door matching those of the original room. The two rooms behind the front rooms are also built of rock and were constructed at a later date, probably after 1880. A kitchen and bathroom were installed in the back rooms, but the entire plan of the house has always been kept unchanged.

The Krieger-Geyer house originally had a very small staircase in the main room leading to a loft. At some point, this stairway was removed, and the Smiths added an outside stairway in order to use the loft. The porch in front of the original two rooms has detailed "gingerbread" under the roofline, which gives the home a touch of individuality. It may have been added at the same time as the two back rooms.

At one time this home served as a Sunday House, and it was for a time a rent house. The Sunday House may have originated in Fredericksburg, though the custom was followed in other towns as well. With increasing prosperity, farmers felt able to leave the homestead on Saturday for shopping and social diversions in town. To avoid continual imposition on friends in town, many families constructed small houses in town for weekend use. They usually returned to the farm after church on Sunday, or on Monday. Occasionally the Sunday Houses were occupied by children who lived in town for the school term, or became retirement homes for the older generation when the farms were passed on to their grown children. The Sunday House custom died out with the advent of the automobile and improved roads.

Behind the carefully restored homestead stands an old log cabin from Comfort, Texas (another early German settlement), which was used in the earliest days as a home and later as a smokehouse. Mr. Smith personally dismantled it, moved it piece by piece, and reassembled it in Fredericksburg.¹¹

THE KAMMLAH HOUSE

One of Fredericksburg's best preserved homes, the Kammlah House, today houses the Gillespie County Historical Society and is part of the Pioneer Museum Complex. It was restored by the local Historical Society in 1965, just in time for Founder's Day, which is celebrated in May each year.

Heinrich (Henry) Kammlah (1809-1875) built the earliest section of the house in 1849, with the help of his young son, Heinrich II. As we have seen in the Krieger-Geyer house, construction in several stages was commonplace. The first phase of the Kammlahs' pegged *Fachwerk* building contained two rooms, a kitchen-living room and a bedroom. An outdoor fireplace for heating wash water, and an old wooden-framed well remain today in the stone-flagged courtyard. Soon the Kammlahs added two more rooms and

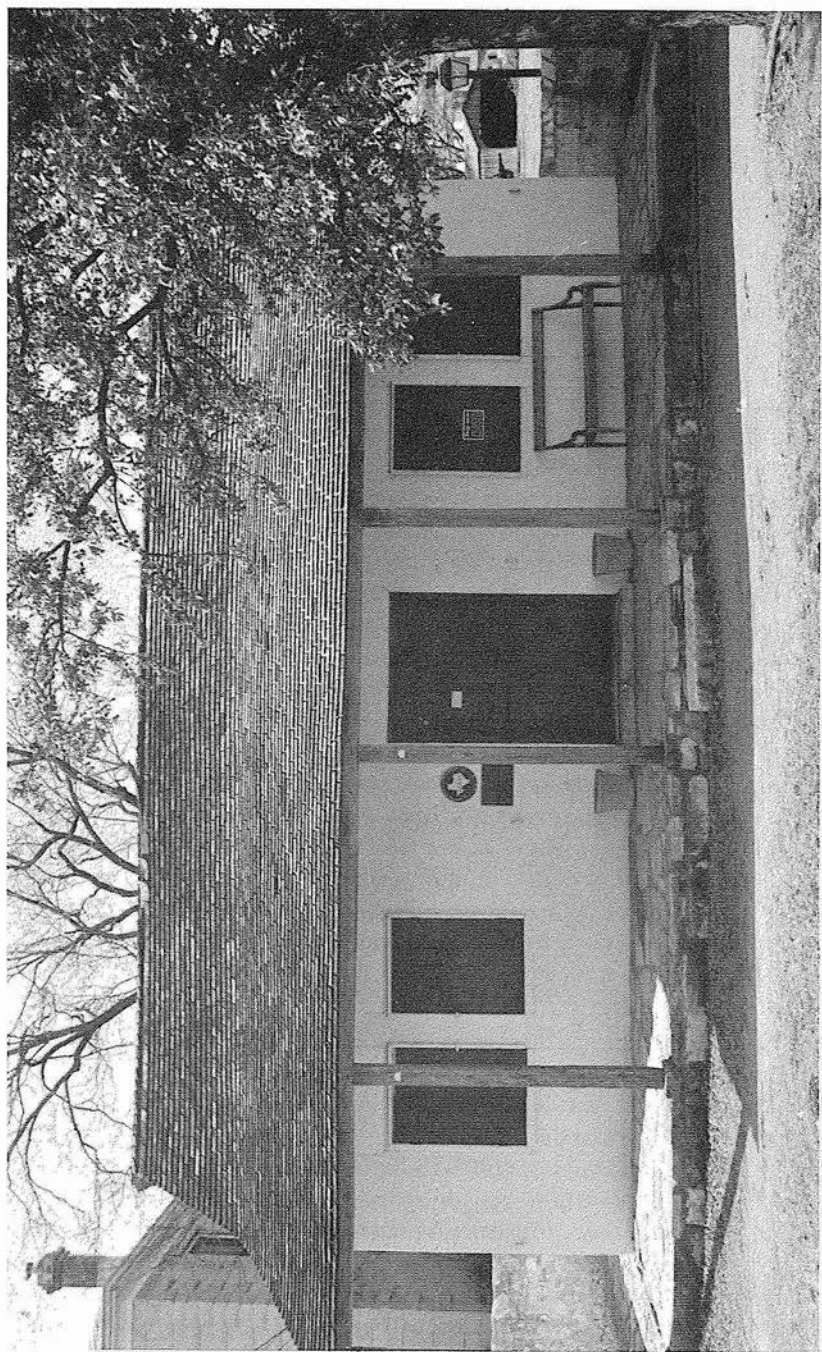


FIG. 6. KAMMLAH HOUSE (NOW GILLESPIE COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM). Photo by Maria Herrmann.

a porch in front of the original rooms, with a sleeping loft above reached by an outdoor stairway, and opened a general store in the new portion. In 1860 a new open-raftered and stone-floored kitchen was constructed in an L at the rear of the house, including a ten-foot-wide stone fireplace with a knee-high hearth for cooking. All the exterior walls of the house are of native limestone and hand-cut timbers, but the inside partitions of the earliest portions were of plastered wood laths. The partitions were removed during the museum's remodeling to enlarge the spaces for social functions and displays.

Henry Kammlah II and his wife Amalia Betz Kammlah inherited the family home in 1875 and continued to operate the store.¹² By this time a large stone addition (four rooms, including a third kitchen, and a large attic for sleeping) at the rear had tripled the size of the house, providing room for the six Kammlah children and six orphaned nieces and nephews. Unusual for Texas, there is a large stone cellar used for storing wine, cured meats, and other staples for the store. The back two rooms of the house, added later, have an ingenious partition wall that could be moved back to create one large space for dances.

The front section of the house does not open directly to the rear building, though they share a wall, but the newer part of the house is reached via the courtyard and wide, low doors into the dining room. This back section of the museum is now devoted to display rooms decorated in the pioneer style and to a large room filled with cases of historical objects donated to the museum by the people of the community. Many mementoes of Meusebach and other original settlers have been preserved here.

The entire museum complex includes a restored and fully furnished wooden Sunday House, an elaborate combination wood and stone barn, horse-shoeing stalls, and a rock house (the Fassel House) which is currently used for demonstrations of pioneer crafts and customs.¹³

THE LOEFFLER-WEBER HOUSE

The small Loeffler-Weber house on Main Street, which was later used as a Sunday House, was authentically restored in 1964 by the late George Hill, a Houston attorney, and his wife Gloria. The Hills purchased the home from the Weber estate.

Gerhard Rorig (or Rohrig) was among the first immigrants to come to Fredericksburg, and he was one of the founders of Zion Lutheran Church (see above, p. 125). He sold his townlot and a building on it in 1851 to John William Schupp. Either Rorig or Schupp built the oldest part of the Loeffler-Weber house with squared logs and mortar, a single small room with a loft above. When the Loeffler family bought the house in 1866, they added a long *Fachwerk* kitchen with a cooking fireplace directly behind the front room. The third and last room was added by enclosing a lean-to in 1905.

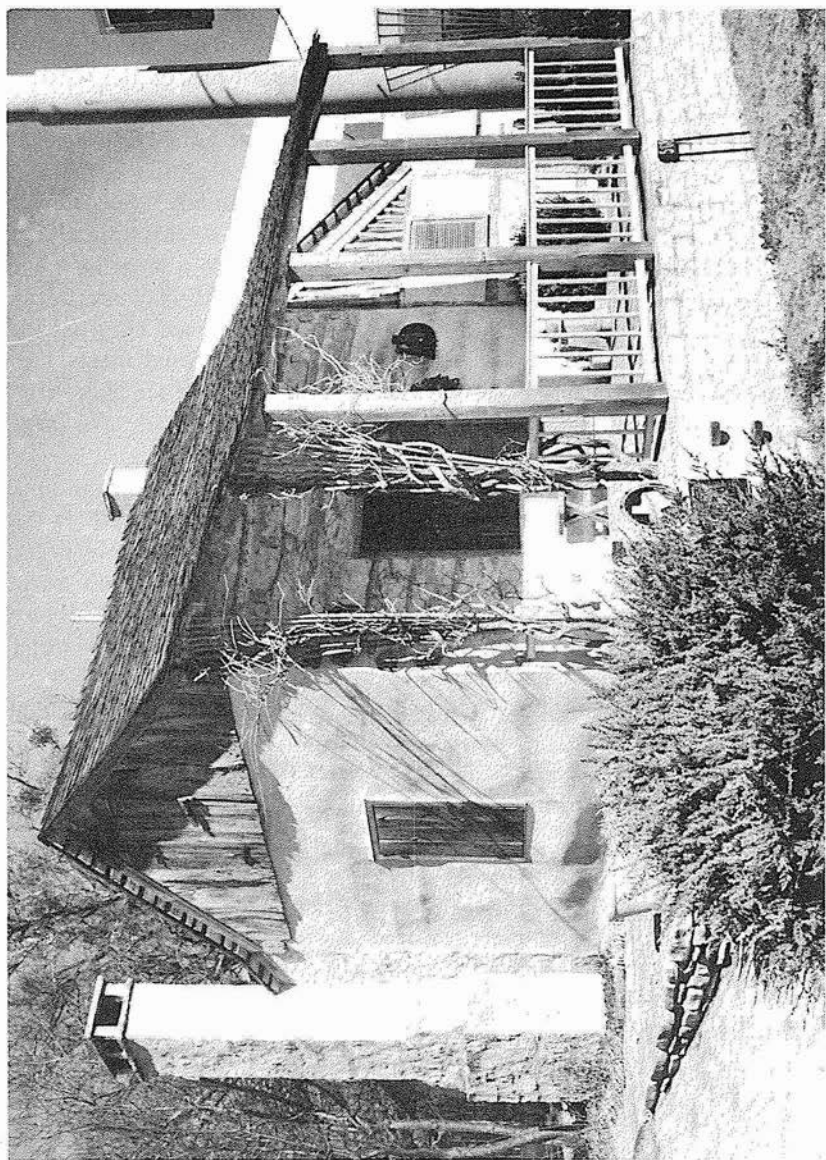


FIG. 7. LOEFFLER-WEBER HOUSE. Photo by A. Kowert, courtesy of the *Fredericksburg Standard*.

The Hills salvaged, cleaned, or repaired everything of use in the little building and restored it to its proper place. Only a few changes were necessary for modern use, principally the conversion of the lean-to room into a modern bathroom and kitchen.

The cypress floor of the earliest room is of handsome random-width planks, some almost two feet wide and all hand cut. Similar boards were placed above the log walls to create a loft over the front room. There was never an indoor stairway; those who slept in the loft, usually children, had to use a ladder.

The original kitchen fireplace was found closed up, as in many other old homes, and was reopened by the Hills. The back part of the lean-to was originally Johann Martin Loeffler's cabinetry workshop. It was enclosed by Loeffler's son-in-law, J. C. Weber, and is now a modern kitchen. The home has been carefully furnished in the pioneer style appropriate to its early owners. All the furniture is handmade of pine and cypress, most of it probably crafted in Texas.

The Loeffler-Weber House is open to the public for tours given by the Gillespie County Historical Society.¹⁴

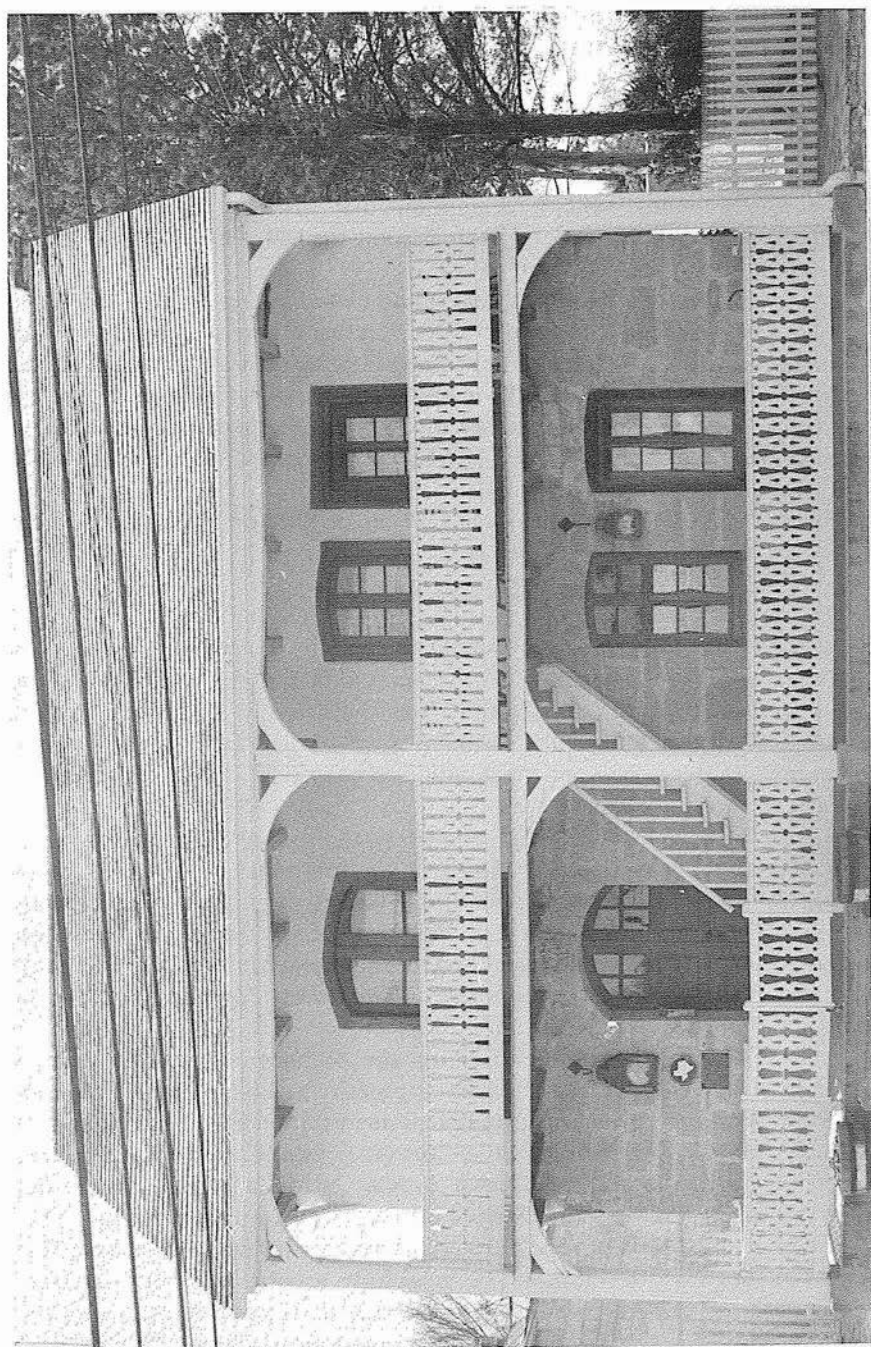
THE KIEHNE-HERRMANN HOUSE

As it had been my desire for many years to live in a pioneer home in a German immigrant community, I was delighted to find Fredericksburg's first two-story home vacant and available for restoration in 1972. After several months of research among former inhabitants of the house and relatives of the pioneer builder, the time-consuming and painstaking task of restoration was begun in April 1973.

Friedrich Kiehne (1811-1898) was a *Messerschmied* ("cutler") by trade in Hanover, Germany. After the death of his first wife, he married Maria Kreinzen and sailed with her, their son Wilhelm and two small daughters, and his son by the earlier marriage, Friederich, from Bremen to Galveston in 1845. The two little girls succumbed to diphtheria after arriving in Texas. Later the Kiehnes had three more sons, and another daughter who died in early childhood.

Upon their arrival in Fredericksburg, the Kiehnes built a log cabin on Creek Street. By 1850, with increasing prosperity as a blacksmith, Friedrich Kiehne was able to replace his primitive home with the first solid rock house in Fredericksburg. The soft limestone was quarried at Cross Mountain, near Fredericksburg, and the hand-hewn cypress beams and planks were cut along the river. Kiehne himself made all the hardware in his smithy.¹⁵

Friedrich and Maria Kiehne's esthetic sensitivity is apparent in many fine details throughout the house. The gracefully arched wooden "ox-yoke" lintels over the upstairs windows are unusual in Texas houses, as are the "Dutch doors" opening from the upstairs bedrooms to the porch, with glass



casements above that open for ventilation, and solid panels below for privacy. The main entrance is a stone arch with handsome wooden double doors, and interior doors and downstairs windows are also stone arched. Above the front door is a limestone panel carved with the names of the builders, "1850—Friedrich Kiehne—Maria Kreinsen."

The style of the house is European, with concessions to the Texas climate. The original four rooms, two upstairs and two down, have twenty-four-inch thick plastered stone walls and the solid construction of a German farm house beneath a steep-pitched shingle roof and pegged attic. In the European manner, the house fronts directly on the sidewalk. The double front porch, large windows, and outside stairways, however, show Texas colonial influence. The upper stair, to the attic, folds up into the porch ceiling.

As we have seen, the Germans in Fredericksburg frequently expanded their houses as circumstances required and finances permitted. The flourishing Kiehne family followed this pattern, adding four more rooms similar to the first to the rear in about 1860, almost doubling the living space. A one-story addition, now the kitchen, bath, and laundry, was built at the back in the 1930s. For a time the house was rented as four apartment units—possible because of the outside stair—and then it stood empty for many years.

Restoration of the house was carried out as authentically as possible. The original rock fireplace in the living room was uncovered, as many as eight vari-colored coats of paint removed from the woodwork, and rotten timbers replaced. The floors were not salvageable, but similar random-width plank floors were installed over plumbing and air conditioning conduits beneath the original floor level. Bathrooms and kitchen were modernized and a kitchenette installed upstairs, but all are in a style harmonious with the rustic look of the rest of the house. Most of the furnishings and accessories are Texas primitive or German country style. The walls are plastered and whitewashed inside and out, as they were in the Kiehnes' day; wood surfaces are sealed but unstained to show the natural beauty of the wood grain. From time to time the home is open to visitors, but it is primarily a family dwelling, demonstrating the continuing utility of pioneer buildings in a modern world.¹⁶

NOTES

A shorter version of this paper was presented as a slide lecture at a symposium of the American Association of Teachers of German in Dallas on Oct. 11, 1975. I would like to thank Kathleen Much Murfin for her aid in its extensive revision for publication.

1. The history of the founding of Fredericksburg and its early settlers is drawn primarily from Gillespie County Historical Society, *Pioneers in God's Hills* (Austin, 1960), pp. xv-xix; and Robert Penniger, *Fest-Ausgabe zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum der Deutschen Kolonie Friedrichsburg* (Fredericksburg, Texas, 1896), pp. 22-50, 59-109, and 117-122. There is an English translation of the latter by C. L. Wiseman, *Fredericksburg, Texas—The First Fifty Years* (Fredericksburg, Texas, 1971). Walter Edwards's two books, *Tales of Old Fredericksburg* (Fredericksburg, Texas: Gargoyle Press, 1974), and *The Story of Fredericksburg* (Fredericksburg Chamber of Commerce, 1969), have other interesting anecdotes and legends about the early years. German quotations in this article are from Penniger.

2. Two speculators named Fisher and Miller had bought the right to settle homesteaders on a huge tract of land (over three million acres) between the Llano and Colorado Rivers in west Texas. Seeing that they would be unable to fulfill their obligations to bring in a certain number of settlers before the deadline, Fisher and Miller sold the rosily-described property for \$9000 (though they held title to none of it) to the *Adelsverein* without mentioning that it was in the midst of Comanche territory and thus indefensible. Prince Karl hoped that New Braunfels would be only a temporary way-station, and that the Indian problems could be solved quickly enough for the next wave of settlers to move on to the grant. His optimism was not well-founded, and the "purchase" money disappeared with Fisher and Miller. Penniger, *Fest-Ausgabe*, pp. 26-27. See also the article by Otto Tetzlaff in this volume.

3. The Indians traded hides, horses, game, honey, and bear grease for flour, corn, sugar, coffee, and manufactured goods.

4. Dr. Schubert, appointed Society agent in the town by Meusebach, was reported by his fellow-townsmen to be a quack doctor really named Struhbach. His leadership, financial management, courage, and morals were strongly criticized and he eventually left Fredericksburg under a cloud.

5. "Deutsche Thatkraft und deutsche Entschlossenheit hat hier in den glücklichen Resultaten dieses Zuges einmal die volle Anerkennung bei den Amerikanern finden müssen; das Letztere dabei aber dennoch nicht ganz frei von kleinen Zügen der Eifersucht sind, beweist am besten, dass jetzt die Deutschen sogar gegen den Vorwurf der Tollkühnheit in der texanischen Presse sich vertheidigen müssen, wie der nachstehende Schluss eines Artikels im Houston Telegraph zeigt: 'Von der Tollkühnheit der "Deutschen" (Dutchmen) ist viel die Rede gewesen; weil sie auf den eigentlichen Sitz der Comanches losgegangen seien, was sie, bei Kenntniss der Gefahr, nicht gethan haben würden, u. s. w.'" Penniger, *Fest-Ausgabe*, pp. 100-101. ("German energy and German determination had to be recognized by the Americans after the fortunate results of this expedition; the latter, however, are not entirely free of small traces of jealousy, proved best by the fact that the Germans now had to defend themselves against accusations of foolhardiness in the Texas press, as the following conclusion of an article in the Houston Telegraph shows: 'Of the foolhardiness of the Dutchmen much has been said; because they went into the Comanches' own territory, which they would not have done if they had known of the danger, etc.'" My translation; I have not been able to compare the German quotation with the original newspaper article.) A party of Anglos under Major Neighbors, sent by the governor to bring Meusebach home, found the Germans safe with the Comanche chiefs and joined the surveying party for the return to Fredericksburg.

6. Penniger, *Fest-Ausgabe*, pp. 147-150; Edwards, *The Story of Fredericksburg*, pp. 13-15. A historical marker on the building reads: "Vereins Kirche. Church for all denominations, school and community hall. Built, summer 1847, after the Comanche peace treaty made by John O. Meusebach, commissioner, German Emigration Company. Located in Main Street between courthouse and market square of early Fredericksburg. Razed after the celebration of fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of first settlers, 1896. Replica, first used as museum and library, constructed 1934-35. Recorded Texas historic landmark—1967."

7. *Centennial Anniversary 1852-1952, Zion Lutheran Church*, pamphlet prepared by Anniversary Booklet Committee (Fredericksburg, Texas, 1952), pp. 6-12.

In 1964 the church was declared by the state to be a "Texas Landmark," and a historical marker was erected with the following wording: "Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. Built 1853 by congregation, hewing wood by hand; quarrying native limestone; Swiss missionary pastor serving as night foreman at lime kiln. Texas Hill Country's oldest Lutheran church. Still is enclosed in original walls. Recorded Texas historic landmark—1964."

8. History of the earliest days of the Catholic congregation in Fredericksburg is primarily drawn from Penniger, *Fest-Ausgabe*, pp. 153-156.

9. *Pioneers in God's Hills*, p. 107.

10. Elise Kowert, "Old Homes and Buildings of Fredericksburg," *Fredericksburg Standard*, June 4, 1975, and April 30, 1975. Mrs. Kowert's series of newspaper articles is being collected into a book, *Old Homes and Buildings of Fredericksburg* (Fredericksburg: Fredericksburg Publishing Co., in press).

11. Kowert, "Old Homes and Buildings of Fredericksburg," *Fredericksburg Standard*, August 25, 1976.

12. *Pioneers in God's Hills*, p. 73.

13. Kowert, "Old Homes and Buildings of Fredericksburg," *Fredericksburg Standard*, April 30, 1975.

In 1966 the house was presented with the following medallion: "Old Kammlah House. Four front rooms with outside stair to attic, built 1849 by German settler Henry Kammlah I. Smoke-house and rooms at rear added 1875. Old world technique of wall plaster over woven twig supports used in interior. Henry Kammlah II and wife Amalia, opened a general store in front room in 1870. This was continued by Henry III until 1924. House purchased 1956 and restored as museum by Gillespie County Historical Society. Recorded Texas historic landmark—1966."

14. Kowert, "Old Homes and Buildings of Fredericksburg," *Fredericksburg Standard*, May 10, 1976. The official historical medallion awarded by the State Historical Survey Committee reads: "Loeffler-Weber House. Log room and loft were built by German emigrant Gerhard Rorig as his home in first winter of Fredericksburg's existence, 1846-47. Noted cabinet-maker Johann Martin Loeffler added typical rock and half-timber rooms and cooking fireplace, 1867; his son-in-law, J. Charles Weber, in 1905 restored the southeast lean-to. For Loeffler-Weber family, this was home or Sunday House for 90 years. Restored 1964 by Mr. and Mrs. George A. Hill, III; consultant: Albert Keidel, architectural designer. Recorded Texas historic landmark—1971."

15. *Pioneers in God's Hills*, pp. 92-93.

16. The Texas Historical Commission granted the following official historical medallion in 1976: "Kiehne-Herrmann Home. German-born Frederick Kiehne (1811-98), a blacksmith and Gillespie County Commissioner, built this structure in 1850. It was the first two-story home in Fredericksburg, although many older residences had sleeping lofts. The hand-cut limestone, adobe bricks, and native timbers were materials often used by pioneer builders. The house was enlarged about the 1860s and again in the 1930s, when Walter Foerster was owner. It was restored in 1973-74 by Maria and Ronald Herrmann. Recorded Texas historic landmark—1976."